Volume 16, No. 11 March 2006 F R E E

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WIP
WORKS IN PROGRESS

WORKS IN PROGRESS

Established in 1990, by the Thurston County Rainbow Coalition.

Waving the Confederate Flag

Racism, Neo-Confederacy and the Raising of Historical Illiterates

by Tim Wise

Most WIP readers are well aware of the recent and on-going targeting of our community by a neo-Nazi hate group called the National Socialist Movement. Various affinity groups in the community are organizing around this issue and we anticipate that related actions and projects will be announced as they unfold. In the meantime, in response to advice contained in "Points to Remember When Responding to Hate Groups," (see sidebar) we are printing this recent article by Tim Wise (2/3/2006).

One of the "points" made in the handbook is that we should tailor our response to specific situations in our community. We have selected this article by Tim Wise specifically to address the recent controversy regarding a white student's display of the Confederate flag at Black Lake High School and the protest expressed by some of the black students at the school. One letter-writer to the Olympian defended the Confederate flag as "a symbol of pride, not racism." Wise confronts that sentiment here.

Here's a little experiment, in two parts.

First, pick a white person, pretty much any white person; then go up to them and mention the subject of slavery, and its consequences for blacks in the United States. Then pull out a stopwatch and time how long it takes for them to say something to the effect of, "All that was a long time ago. Why can't we leave the past in the past and move on?"

And here's the second part: come and spend a little time in my neck of the woods—the American South—and watch how long it takes for you to spot someone waving, wearing, or otherwise displaying (perhaps on their car) a confederate flag.* Now, having seen several, go up to their respective owners and tell them, "All that was a long time ago. Why can't you leave the past in the past and move on?"

And as they look at you blankly, or even angrily, and perhaps call you a Yankee or some such thing that they consider the vilest of slurs, ask them about slavery, and watch how quickly they turn to the very same "all that was in the past" line you just used on them—not realizing the irony, which was, after all, the point of this experiment in the first place.

You see, white Southerners (and, truth be told, whites generally in the U.S.) love to live in the past, so long as it's a past that makes us feel good and venerates us as heroes. So whether its waxing emotional about the greatness of our founding fathers, or waving an American flag on Independence Day, or prattling on about some ancestor who died in battle at Gettysburg, the point is the same: to lift up the past and to remain stuck there, at least for a while. But let anyone suggest the less noble side of that same past and watch how quickly history gets relegated to the ashbin of the irrelevant.

Those who wave the Confederate flag, for example, insist they are merely trying to fondly remember part of their history. Yet if blacks (including, to be sure, more than a few Southerners) broach the subject of their ancestors' enslavement and its lingering effects on black America today, they are viewed as wallowing in pity. But what, other than wallowing, and most certainly pitiable, can we call those who insist on waving the standard of a defeated government, some one hundred and forty one years after it fell? Really now, let us move on indeed!

Case in point: the recent flap in Burleson, Texas, involving two young women who were brought to their high school principal's office for displaying Confederate flags on their purses: a symbol that has been deemed disruptive and potentially racist by school officials. When Ashley Thomas and Aubrie McAllum were chastised by their principal for carrying the co-called "Rebel Purses" to school—gifts they had received for Christmas (and who says there's no Santa Claus?)—they decided to leave campus altogether, rather than submit to turning the purses over to school officials until the end of the day. Their respective parents, one of whom is a member of the Sons of Confederate Veterans, have threatened to sue, claiming that the girls' free speech is being violated. Aubrie's dad—the SCV member—goes further, insisting that a "heritage violation" has been committed. Yes of course, because you know how hostile those liberal North Texas principals can be towards anything Southern.

The school, which is ninety percent white, is now having to contend with legions of white students who have taken up the girls' cause: by plastering "censored" signs over their purses (be they rebel or not) and book bags, all the while caring quite little as to how the whole thing might feel for the statistical handful of blacks in the school.

Though the young women in question can be excused for their ignorance as to what the flag they chose to display means, the same cannot be said of their parents, who either should know, or do know the truth, but (especially in the case of Rick McAllum) choose to lie about it and push a sanitized, kinder and gentler version of the Confederacy than history itself affords us.

Oh sure, neo-Confederates yelp at such a suggestion, insisting that the Confederate Battle Flag—the St. Andrew's Cross as it is technically known—has nothing to do with slavery or racism. In fact, they argue, since the flag was really only a battle standard, and not an official flag of the Confederate States of America, it can't even be seen as representative of the government itself. So, even if one accepts that the Confederacy was founded on the basis of racism and for the purpose of maintaining slavery—and indeed this was the position of their leaders, to a person, as will be seen below—the modern day confederates insist that the battle flag only represents the noble and gallant efforts of their ancestors in warfare, and holds no deeper ideological or practical meaning than this. To hear the neo-confederates tell it, the brave boys who fell on the fields of battle were not interested in slavery, as very few of them owned any, but rather were fighting in defense of home and hearth, for regional pride and the heritage of their people, which

▸ **Flag Waving** *continued on page 7*

Points to Remember

When Responding to Hate Groups

Compilation reprinted from When Hate Groups Come to Town: A Handbook of Effective Community Responses, *published by the Center for Democratic Renewal, Atlanta, 1992.*

Avoid a divisive First Amendment debate on the rights of hate groups.

When community groups consider the problems posed by hate group demonstrations and parades, they often become embroiled in a debate over the free speech guarantees of the First Amendment. A Coalition may find itself increasingly divided, with some of its members arguing that restrictions aimed at limiting the public activities of the hate groups should be adopted while others argue that the public display of hate groups and hate speech is part of the price we pay for our constitutional guarantee of free speech. Unfortunately, this debate often saps the energy of the civil rights community and prevents it from formulating an effective response to hate group activity. Focus on creative community responses instead of restrictions.

Document the problem and stay informed.

Your first step should be to conduct thorough research about hate group activity and bigoted violence in your community. Develop a chronology of incidents drawing on newspaper accounts, victim reports and other sources. Stay informed about developments by clipping your local newspaper, subscribing to other publications and networking with other individuals and agencies.

Speak out and create a moral barrier to hate activity.

Communities that ignore the problem of hate group activity and bigoted violence can sometimes create the impression that they don't care. This silence is often interpreted by hate groups as an invitation to step-up their activities. Through press conferences, rallies, community meetings and public hearings you can create a climate of public opinion that condemns racism and bigotry right from the start.

Match the solution to the problem.

Whatever strategy you use to respond should be tailored to the specific situation you are dealing with; don't rely on rigid, formula-type solutions.

▸ **Points** *continued pg 10*

WORKS IN PROGRESS

Works In Progress is a free, volunteer operated progressive community newspaper based in Olympia, WA. Opinions expressed do not necessarily reflect those of the ***Works In Progress*** and are solely those of the authors.

Submissions:

Please send text as Word attachments. Artwork and photos can be sent electronically or we can scan them for you as camera-ready/black & white.

WIP reserves the right to publish in whole or part all submissions. For editing purposes, please enclose your phone number.

Articles may be reprinted. Please cite source.

*If you don't see your issue being covered in **Works In Progress**, it's because you aren't writing about it! (Or aren't finding someone else to cover it!)*

Send submissions to wip@zhonka.net or mail to ***Works In Progress***, PO Box 295, Olympia, WA 98507-0295.

Governing Tool:

The following statement is part of the Editorial Policy and is the governing tool for the Anti-Discrimination Clause:

WIP *will make every effort to work with the contributor of material considered by* ***WIP*** *to be offensive in order to reach a mutually agreed upon resolution, but* ***WIP*** *reserves the right as a last resort to edit or not print submitted material.*

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We will collectively endeavor to be sensitive and respectful to all those oppressed in this society, and their issues. However, if and when we should make a mistake in this regard, we expect to acknowledge it and to express regret for injury or insult given.

Back Issues:

Get your catalog of indexed ***WIP***s below. Some back issues are available in the Timberland Library system. ***WIP*** is being archived on microfilm by the UW Library.

About the cover—See related articles beginning on page 1.

WIP Schedule

Submission Deadline: March 24th

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Announcements

The Olympia-Rafah Sister City Project presents

"The Hamas Victory and the Future of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict,"

Thursday, **March 2nd**, **7:00 pm**, at **First Christian Church**, 7th and Franklin, in downtown Olympia.

Evergreen State College Professor Steve Niva will lead discussion and analysis of the recent electoral victory of the Palestinian Islamist Party Hamas and its implications for resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. He will examine reasons for the Hamas victory, response by Israel and the U.S., and the impact on prospects for peace and justice in the region. Does the election of Hamas represent a threat to Israel, or will Israel use the fear it generates to divert attention from its ongoing effort to encircle Palestinians behind a wall dividing the West Bank into Bantustans?

Steve Niva teaches international politics and Middle East Studies at The Evergreen State College. An associate of The Middle East Research and Information Project (merip.org), he writes and comments frequently on Middle Eastern political developments. He is currently researching and writing a history of Palestinian suicide bombings and Israeli military violence.

ORSCP members Rochelle Gause and Serena Becker will offer their perspectives after just returning from four months in Gaza and the West Bank.

Co-sponsors are **Veterans for Peace**, **SESAME** (Students Educating Students About the Middle East) and the **Rachel Corrie Foundation for Peace and Justice**. *Contact: Jennifer Zahn Spieler, 455-4627*

"Making Another World Possible, Zapatista Chronicles, 2000-2006"

Friday, **March 3rd** at **12:30 P.M**. in **Seminar II, D1107** at the Evergreen State College

John Ross will read from his forthcoming book, "Making Another World Possible, Zapatista Chronicles, 2000-2006". This is the latest of John Ross's outstanding books on the Zapatistas and Mexico. John Ross is a radical journalist, who has lived in Mexico for 40 years. John will also make comments on current indigenous led struggles in Latin America.

For more info, call **Peter Bohmer, 867-6431** or email, **bohmerp@evergreen.edu**.

Olympia Unitarian Universalist Congregation Social Justice Committee Monthly Film Series

All films are free and are shown at the Olympia Unitarian Universalist Congregation,2200 East End St NW, Olympia. Info: www.olyuu.org or contact socialjustice@olyuu.org.

Sunday, **March 5,** 2006, at **4pm** : ***If Women Ruled the World***

In honor of women's history month, this PBS documentary about a 1999 gathering at a dinner party of nineteen accomplished women from around the world. Hosted by Kim Campbell, former prime minister of Canada, guests included a supreme Court Justice, a senator, a three-star general, a super model, a leading feminist, a Chinese dissident, two college presidents, and a small town sheriff. Also included in the video are background profiles and expert commentary from Sandra Day O'Connor, Betty Frieden, Madeleine Albright, Jane Goodall, and Andrea Mitchell among others. Lively, thoughtful, enlightening, and humorous at times!

Alliance for Democracy Movie Night

The Revolution Will Not Be Televised

The South Sound chapter of Alliance for Democracy is showing the documentary on **Sunday, March 5, 2006**, **6pm** at 300-5th Avenue (**Traditions Fair Trade Café**).

The Revolution Will Not be Televised is a documentary about politics in Venezuela. Hugo Chavez was elected President of Venezuela in 1998. He is a colorful, unpredictable folk hero, beloved by his nation's working class and a tough-as-nails opponent to the power structure. Two independent filmmakers were inside the presidential palace on April 11, 2002, when Chavez was forcibly removed from office and 48 hours later when, remarkably, he returned to power amid cheering aides. Their film records history's shortest-lived coup d'état. http://imdb.com/title/tt0363510/ 73 minutes. Discussion will follow the film.

▸ **Announcements** *continued pg 10*

March 2006

Just an excuse to do as we please

(The Border Protection, Anti-Terrorism, and Illegal Control Act)

This legislation's primary purpose is to "fund 700 miles of new high-tech fences along the U.S.-Mexico border and make illegal immigration a felony", all in the name of protecting us from "evil-doers".

it also does the following:

- Defines an "alien smuggler" as "Anyone" with regular contact with an illegal immigrant
- Allows Homeland Security to "exempt itself from all federal, state, and local environmental laws when constructing along US borders"
- Homeland Security would not be required to inform and involve communities in proposed construction projects
- gives Homeland Security an "unnecessary level of secrecy" and "would strip courts of all jurisdiction to hear claims under any law when waived by the Department's Secretary, regardless of damage caused or threatened as result of construction projects"

The bill also does little to address root causes of migration to the US. It fails to speak to the fallout of NAFTA: rural Mexico's economic collapse; high unemployment; millions underemployed; wages below basic needs; and those who have become homeless from recent hurricanes

The US economy is also dependent on immigrant labor. "It makes no sense for one of the world's most commercially open zones to ignore problems of labor flows, shunting workers into criminal categories that stigmatizes, exploits, and denies their very existence." This "underscores the contradiction between an economic relationship based on the free movement of commodities but not people."

Its provisions create a punitive environment that extends beyond border security or enforcement of current laws. The bill is an assault on basic civil liberties, constitutional values of due process and fundamental legal principles.

American Friends Service Committee

Sources: Laura Carlsen, Americas Program of the International Relations Center; Center for Biological Diversity; Kent Paterson, Latin America in Movement; and American Friends Service Committee

S	M	T	W	Th	F	S
			1 **2005:** Supreme Court bans death penalty for juvenile criminals **2005:** US Gen. says threat from Iraqi insurgents waning	**2** **1807:** Congress prohibits slave trade **1998:** NJ Supreme Court rules gays cannot be banned as scoutmasters in the Boy Scouts	**3** **2005: A** UN report predicts more than 80 million Africans may die from AIDS by 2025 if more isn't done to fight the disease	**4** **2005**: US troops fire on car w/ Italian journalist Giuliana Sgrena killing Italian intelligence officer who had just negotiated her release
5 **1933**: Roosevelt enacts national bank holiday **2004:** Fed judge blocks Justice Dept's attempt to get Planned Parenthood records	**6** **2005**: China's foreign minister says he has doubts on the quality of US intelligence concerning N Korea's nuclear program	**7** **1904:** OH mob breaks into jail, shoots Negro accused of murder **2005:** Bush nominates John Bolton as ambassador to UN	**8** **1996:** Unemployment drops to 5.5%: Dow Jones falls 171 points **2004:** City of Seattle begins recognizing same-sex marriages	**9** **2005:** Israeli study finds 105 West Bank settlements were supported by Israeli government violating promises to the US	**10** **2005:** Fed judge tosses lawsuit of 4 million Vietnamese; says Agent Orange isn't a poison and they can't prove it caused their illnesses	**11** **2005:** US agrees to pay $25.5 million for Nazi-looted goods that vanished under Army care in the closing days of World War II
12 **2005:** Hamas announces it will run in Palestinian elections **2005:** Fed judge stops Justice Dept transfer of prisoners from Cuba	**13** **1925:** TN governor signs bill banning teachers in public institutions from teaching any theory denying divine creation as taught in the Bible	**14** **2005:** WAPost-ABC poll shows 35% support for Bush's private account solution for SS **2005:** EPA relaxes rules on mercury	**15** **2005:** Italy announces it's troops to leave Iraq **2005:** Summers, Harvard's president, loses no-confidence vote, 218-185	**16** **2005**: Gov data received by WAPost shows at least 108 people have died in American custody in Iraq and Afghanistan, most of them violently	**17** **1917:** 1st bowling tournament for women held in St Louis **2005:** Hamas declares it will halt attacks on Israel for rest of year	**18** **2005:** Gregoire pledges $5 million to clean up Hood Canal **2005:** Wal-Mart to pay $11 million for hiring illegal immigrants
19 **2005:** Congressional leaders announce agreement allowing Terri Schiavo's parent to petition fed courts to reinsert feeding tube	**20** **1995:** Judge rules "don't ask, don't tell" policy unconstitutional **2005:** US lied about N Korea selling uranium to Libya; it was Pakistan	**21** **1996:** House passes Immigration in the National Interest Act doubling Border Patrol and placing triple fence along Mexican border	**22** **1947:** Truman orders loyalty investigations of fed workers **2005:** Fed judge refuses to order reinsertion of Schiavo's feeding tube	**23** **2005:** Research shows high levels of toxins in Puget Sound salmon **2005:** Study says NW rivers may grow too hot for fish by 2040	**24** 1960: Court of appeals rules Lady Chatterley's Lover can be sent through the mail 1989: Exxon Valdez runs aground	**25** **2005:** Transportation Security Admin lied about collecting personal information of 12 million air travelers to test security system
26 **1999:** Kevorkian convicted of murder **2005:** FL judge and FL Supreme Court reject Schiavo appeal; parents abandon legal battle	**27** **2005:** Some pharmacists around the country are refusing to fill prescriptions for birth control and morning-after pills	**28** **2005:** CO Supreme Court throws out death penalty in rape-and-murder case because jurors studied Bible verses during deliberations	**29** **1995:** Olympia Design Review approves design of Wal-Mart site **2005:** Syria promises to withdraw all troops from Lebanon	**30** **2005:** Supreme Court gives older workers greater rights to sue employers for age discrimination even if it was unintentional	**31** **2005:** Schiavo dies **2005:** World Bank board votes unanimously to approve the appointment of Paul Wolfowitz as its next president	39 species protected or proposed to be protected are now being affected. Border Patrol

www.olyblog.net

Compiled and edited by Drew Hendricks

Olympia has one of the richest media environments of any small community in the United States. The latest addition to the constellation of self-publishing web sites is known as Olyblog.net. Here's their blurb, in their own words: About OlyBlog.net

OlyBlog is a site for news and discussion specifically about Olympia, Washington. OlyBlog was founded by Rick McKinnon, a long-time OlyWa resident.

If you'd like to contribute, please register for an account. You can post your news as a story, and it will be reviewed (and possibly edited) for promotion to the front page. You can also send news to mckinnon.rick@comcast.net

What follows here is a small digest of stories selected from Olyblog.net over the course of the last month or so. Some of the entries are slightly edited for length and grammar.

The cold is here

Submitted by Rick on Thu, 02/16/2006—8:18am.

From The Olympian:

South Sound homeless shelters expect an influx of homeless people as bitter cold descends on the area.

When the temperature dipped to 22 degrees early Wednesday, two dozen people sought refuge at The Salvation Army shelter in downtown Olympia, the "highest I've seen so far in the past few years," said Beth Zimmerman, cold-weather coordinator for the Emergency Shelter Network.

It looks like it is only going to get colder. Does Bread & Roses have enough coats, gloves, hats? Should we bring stuff to B&R to distribute?

local ownership of local resources

Submitted by chris on Wed, 02/15/2006—12:24pm.

Today's Olympian newspaper reports that the Olympia city council took action to reclaim our water rights at the brewery.

As I understand it, the current owner is in danger of defaulting on his loan. If he does, then the water rights will go to his lender in California or to the highest bidder.

With an impending worldwide water crisis, selling off water rights to a company seems kind of assinine. Perhaps it makes sense for a community to lease those rights with a time limit, but not relinquish ownership.

I still don't think it should be legal for a company to determine how a community is able to manage it's local resources such as water. (e.g. when Miller closed the brewery in 2003, they were able to stipulate that beer could never be brewed on that site again—I can't find an online resource to quote for that though… anyone?)

In any case, I'm so thrilled that our city council is trying to save our water rights, I think we should throw them a thank you party for not allowing it to languish.

Another Voice

Submitted by Sarah on Wed, 02/15/2006—9:24am.

Fighting Back. If ignored, Hate Groups thrive.

Floyd Cochran says that "silence and apathy was his biggest ally when he was recruiting members into 'the doctrines of hate.'"

"Organized white supremacy groups are counting on you to do nothing," said Floyd Cochran, who at one time was the fifth-ranking member of the Church of Jesus Christ Christian/Aryan Nations -- a white supremacist group that combines Nazi ideas with a racist brand of biblical fundamentalism known as Christian Identity.

What's that saying?

Submitted by Rick on Wed, 02/15/2006—8:18am.

I think it goes: "Fool me once shame on you; fool me twice, shame on me."

From The Olympian:

OLYMPIA -- For the second time in six months, an inmate at the Olympia City Jail has damaged expensive electronic equipment by urinating on it from his cell.

The latest wetting happened Sunday night, after police booked a transient who had been fighting with another man outside a grocery store. Matthew F. Hobbs was in a holding cell when he allegedly urinated on two video monitors stored under a counter at the jail's booking station. The monitors were valued at $1,600, Olympia police reported.

Open Source Radio coming to Seattle, give them a topic

Submitted by emmettoconnell on Tue, 02/14/2006—1:22pm.

One of the best radio shows out there, Radio Open Source, is coming to Seattle and is looking for Northwest centered topics. The gist of the show is that they build interest for topics prior to airing by discussing them online. When a topic is "ready" so to speak, they give it a show.

Anyway, give them a piece of your mind here; http://www.radioopensource.org/source-less-in-seattle/

Some liveaboards' history: Liveaboard Association of Puget Sound

Submitted by emmettoconnell on Mon, 02/13/2006—8:13pm.

I remember back in 2000 when the DNR started cracking down on liveaboards across Puget Sound. Apparently they got together and started fighting back.

They have an association: http://www.liveaboards.org/index.htm

Dating back almost 100 years, liveaboard boaters have been a part of the color and richness of Puget Sound. The liveaboard lifestyle is an age-old pursuit, it is a choice to passionately pursue a love of water, adventure, and freedom. The liveaboard community of Puget Sound, together with concerned citizens across the state, have formed this association to protect a NW heritage, and a cherished way of life.

Long Hair David trial is postponed to April 10th

Submitted by DrewHendricks on Mon, 02/13/2006—5:20pm.

Longtime community activist and EGYHOP founder Long Hair David has finally secured a private attorney in his two-year ordeal with felony assault charges.

The charges stem from an incident which happened Feb 16, 2004 as David was in Sylvester Park downtown in Olympia. Three WSP Officers approached David, accused him of dropping a cigarette on the ground; the misunderstanding that resulted ended in David's arrest for felony assault of an officer. The bench trial, which had been scheduled for Feb 13, 2006 has been moved to April 10th.

EGYHOP is the Emma Goldman Youth and Homeless Outreach Project—a direct, mutual aid organization for the street populations of Olympia.

David is one of my heroes; it has broken my heart to see him reduced in spirit and body as the stress of worrying about this case has worn him down. The men who attacked him that day have never taken responsibility for their misunderstanding or contributory negligence in the case, and likely never will, even when David is aquitted.

The case number is 04-1-00343-5 and you can track the docket for it here and paste the case number in the box, and choose Thurston County.

A message from Long Hair David

I would like to thank and express gratitude to my community for all the support people have given me. I don't know how I would have continued to face this if it was not for the supportive friends in my beloved Oly community. The people of Olympia have stepped up and given me their support without me even asking for it; no man could ever be so lucky.

The one thing that I have learned from this experience is that impoverished people have so little power in our court system and are at the mercy of public defenders and a bureaucratic over-burdened court system. Most people of poverty are lucky to have family or anyone to stand up for them in the face of the legal system. I am a truly lucky man to have had the support of friends, family, and this community.

Health and happiness to all my friends in this community, —"Long Hair" David A. Fawver

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Bush's Warrantless Wiretapping Program is Illegal and Unconstitutional

by Senator Russell Feingold

As prepared for remarks on the Senate floor.

Last week the President of the United States gave his State of the Union address, where he spoke of America's leadership in the world, and called on all of us to "lead this world toward freedom." Again and again, he invoked the principle of freedom, and how it can transform nations, and empower people around the world.

But, almost in the same breath, the President openly acknowledged that he has ordered the government to spy on Americans, on American soil, without the warrants required by law.

The President issued a call to spread freedom throughout the world, and then he admitted that he has deprived Americans of one of their most basic freedoms under the Fourth Amendment—to be free from unjustified government intrusion.

The President was blunt. He said that he had authorized the NSA's domestic spying program, and he made a number of misleading arguments to defend himself. His words got rousing applause from Republicans, and even some Democrats.

The President was blunt, so I will be blunt: This program is breaking the law, and this President is breaking the law. Not only that, he is misleading the American people in his efforts to justify this program.

How is that worthy of applause? Since when do we celebrate our commander in chief for violating our most basic freedoms, and misleading the American people in the process? When did we start to stand up and cheer for breaking the law? In that moment at the State of the Union, I felt ashamed.

Congress has lost its way if we don't hold this President accountable for his actions.

The President suggests that anyone who criticizes his illegal wiretapping program doesn't understand the threat we face. But we do. Every single one of us is committed to stopping the terrorists who threaten us and our families.

Defeating the terrorists should be our top national priority, and we all agree that we need to wiretap them to do it. In fact, it would be irresponsible not to wiretap terrorists. But we have yet to see any reason why we have to trample the laws of the United States to do it. The President's decision that he can break the law says far more about his attitude toward the rule of law than it does about the laws themselves.

This goes way beyond party, and way beyond politics. What the President has done here is to break faith with the American people. In the State of the Union, he also said that "we must always be clear in our principles" to get support from friends and allies that we need to fight terrorism. So let's be clear about a basic American principle: When someone breaks the law, when someone misleads the public in an attempt to justify his actions, he needs to be held accountable. The President of the United States has broken the law. The President of the United States is trying to mislead the American people. And he needs to be held accountable.

Unfortunately, the President refuses to provide any details about this domestic spying program. Not even the full Intelligence committees know the details, and they were specifically set up to review classified information and oversee the intelligence activities of our government. Instead, the President says "Trust me."

This is not the first time we've heard that. In the lead-up to the Iraq war, the Administration went on an offensive to get the American public, the Congress, and the international community to believe its theory that Saddam Hussein was developing weapons of mass destruction, and even that he had ties to Al Qaeda. The President painted a dire—and inaccurate—picture of Saddam Hussein's capability and intent, and we invaded Iraq on that basis. To make matters worse, the Administration misled the country about what it would take to stabilize and reconstruct Iraq after the conflict. We were led to believe that this was going to be a short endeavor, and that our troops would be home soon.

We all recall the President's "Mission Accomplished" banner on the aircraft carrier on May 1, 2003. In fact, the mission was not even close to being complete. More than 2100 total deaths have occurred after the President declared an end to major combat operations in May of 2003, and over 16,600 American troops have been wounded in Iraq. The President misled the American people and grossly miscalculated the true challenge of stabilizing and rebuilding Iraq.

In December, we found out that the President has authorized wiretaps of Americans without the court orders required by law. He says he is only wiretapping people with links to terrorists, but how do we know? We don't. The President is unwilling to let a neutral judge make sure that is the case. He will not submit this program to an independent branch of government to make sure he's not violating the rights of law-abiding Americans.

So I don't want to hear again that this Administration has shown it can be trusted. It hasn't. And that is exactly why the law requires a judge to review these wiretaps.

It is up to Congress to hold the President to account. We held a hearing on the domestic spying program in the Judiciary Committee yesterday, where Attorney General Gonzales was a witness. We expect there will be other hearings. That is a start, but it will take more than just hearings to get the job done.

We know that in part because the President's Attorney General has already shown a willingness to mislead the Congress.

Russell Feingold is the US senator from Wisconsin.

The President of the United States has broken the law. The President of the United States is trying to mislead the American people. And he needs to be held accountable. —Senator Russell Feingold

Homeland Security Contracts for Vast New Detention Camps

by Peter Dale Scott

BERKELEY, Calif.—A Halliburton subsidiary has just received a $385 million contract from the Department of Homeland Security to provide "temporary detention and processing capabilities."

The contract—announced Jan. 24 by the engineering and construction firm Kellog Brown and Root (KBR)—calls for preparing for "an emergency influx of immigrants, or to support the rapid development of new programs" in the event of other emergencies, such as "a natural disaster." The release offered no details about where Halliburton was to build these facilities, or when.

To date, some newspapers have worried that open-ended provisions in the contract could lead to cost overruns, such as have occurred with KBR in Iraq. A Homeland Security spokesperson has responded that this is a "contingency contract" and that conceivably no centers might be built. But almost no paper so far has discussed the possibility that detention centers could be used to detain American citizens if the Bush administration were to declare martial law.

For those who follow covert government operations abroad and at home, the contract evoked ominous memories of Oliver North's controversial Rex-84 "readiness exercise" in 1984. This called for the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) to round up and detain 400,000 imaginary "refugees," in the context of "uncontrolled population movements" over the Mexican border into the United States. North's activities raised civil liberties concerns in both Congress and the Justice Department. The concerns persist.

> "Almost certainly this is preparation for a roundup after the next 9/11 for Mid-Easterners, Muslims and possibly dissenters."
>
> —Daniel Ellsberg, former military analyst who released the Pentagon Papers in 1971.

"Almost certainly this is preparation for a roundup after the next 9/11 for Mid-Easterners, Muslims and possibly dissenters," says Daniel Ellsberg, a former military analyst who in 1971 released the Pentagon Papers, the U.S. military's account of its activities in Vietnam. "They've already done this on a smaller scale, with the 'special registration' detentions of immigrant men from Muslim countries, and with Guantanamo."

Plans for detention facilities or camps have a long history, going back to fears in the 1970s of a national uprising by black militants. As Alonzo Chardy reported in the Miami Herald on July 5, 1987, an executive order for continuity of government (COG) had been drafted in 1982 by FEMA head Louis Giuffrida. The order called for "suspension of the Constitution" and "declaration of martial law." The martial law portions of the plan were outlined in a memo by Giuffrida's deputy, John Brinkerhoff.

In 1985, President Reagan signed National Security Decision Directive 188, one of a series of directives that authorized continued planning for COG by a private parallel government.

Two books, James Mann's "Rise of the Vulcans" and James Bamford's "A Pretext for War," have revealed that in the 1980s this parallel structure, operating outside normal government channels, included the then-head of G. D. Searle and Co., Donald Rumsfeld, and then-Congressman from Wyoming Dick Cheney.

After 9/11, new martial law plans began to surface similar to those of FEMA in the 1980s. In January 2002 the Pentagon submitted a proposal for deploying troops on American streets. One month later John Brinkerhoff, the author of the 1982 FEMA memo, published an article arguing for the legality of using U.S. troops for purposes of domestic security.

Then in April 2002, Defense Dept. officials implemented a plan for domestic U.S. military operations by creating a new U.S. Northern Command (CINC-NORTHCOM) for the continental United States. Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld called this "the most sweeping set of changes since the unified command system was set up in 1946."

Manzanar, California Opened March 21, 1942. Closed November 21, 1945. Peak population 10,046. Origin of prisoners: Los Angeles, San Fernando Valley, San Joaquin County, Bainbridge Island, Washington. It was the first of the ten camps to open—initially as a processing center.

Tule Lake, California Opened May 27, 1942. Closed March 20, 1946. Peak population 18,789. Origin of prisoners: American citizens of Japanese descent living in Sacramento area, Southwestern Oregon, and Western Washington; later, segregated internees were brought in from all West Coast states and Hawaii. One of the most turbulent camps—prisoners held frequent protest demonstrations and strikes.

The NORTHCOM commander, Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld announced, is responsible for "homeland defense and also serves as head of the North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD).... He will command U.S. forces that operate within the United States in support of civil authorities. The command will provide civil support not only in response to attacks, but for natural disasters."

John Brinkerhoff later commented on PBS that, "The United States itself is now for the first time since the War of 1812 a theater of war. That means that we should apply, in my view, the same kind of command structure in the United States that we apply in other theaters of war."

Then in response to Hurricane Katrina in Sept. 2005, according to the Washington Post, White House senior adviser Karl Rove told the governor of Louisiana, Kathleen Babineaux Blanco, that she should explore legal options to impose martial law "or as close as we can get." The White House tried vigorously, but ultimately failed, to compel Gov. Blanco to yield control of the state National Guard.

Also in September, NORTHCOM conducted its highly classified Granite Shadow exercise in Washington. As William Arkin reported in the Washington Post, "Granite Shadow is yet another new Top Secret and compartmented operation related to the military's extra-legal powers regarding weapons of mass destruction. It allows for emergency military operations in the United States without civilian supervision or control."

It is clear that the Bush administration is thinking seriously about martial law.

Many critics have alleged that FEMA's spectacular failure to respond to Katrina followed from a deliberate White House policy: of paring back FEMA, and instead strengthening the military for responses to disasters.

A multimillion dollar program for detention facilities will greatly increase NORTHCOM's ability to respond to any domestic disorders.

Scott is author of "Drugs, Oil, and War: The United States in Afghanistan, Colombia, and Indochina" (Rowman & Littlefield, 2003). He is completing a book on "The Road to 9/11." Visit his Web site: www.peterdalescott.net

Amache (Granada), Colorado Opened August 24, 1942. Closed October 15, 1945. Peak population 7318. Origin of prisoners: Nothern California coast, West Sacramento Valley, Northern San Joaquin Valley, Los Angeles. 31 Japanese Americans from Amache volunteered and lost their lives in World War II. 120 died here between August 27, 1942 and October 14, 1945. In April, 1944, 36 draft resisters were sent to Tucson, AZ Federal Prison.

Commentary

Nonviolence Isn't Pacifism

by Copwatch Organizer Drew Hendricks

I believe that a spider I pick up has the right to bite me if I start to crush her, or if she thinks I might want to do her harm. I believe that I have that same right if someone is attacking me, or attacking my community.

I understand that some want to undertake a dharma that involves much more sacrifice than my own path, and stake out a "moral high ground." I leave these people to do what they do. I have my own path, and I think it is important to share that with you. It differs from many of you, and you will better understand me, and understand my tactics, if you know this about me.

I am not for being right at the end of the day; I'm for staying alive till the end of the day, and learning from my mistakes - apologizing where I need to. I don't take lives for that reason (you can't undo a murder), but I also do not take attacks. I'm nonviolent, but not a pacifist. I will strike back if I'm attacked. I'll also reach out and slap someone who's attacking my community or my friends, and I'll apologize to no one for that. I won't attack someone to get them to do what I want, or get them to stop doing what I dislike. I'll attack someone who is trying to end my (our) right to exist.

Some of us believe in a life after this one, in reincarnation, or karma, whatever.

I do not. I am a materialist.

I also believe that our species is on a cusp of understanding and knowledge and that we will decide the fate of our future as a species within my normal life span. I am for the human race continuing to exist. I know that warfare, retaliation, etc are impediments to this - not solutions. But I also know that getting into the cattle cars and entering the showers passively is not going to help us survive.

I wear my social security number as a Code128 bar code on my right forearm to remind myself, and teach others, about genocide. I actively document the police intelligence and police enforcement functions of our ruling classes so that people can see for themselves the nature of the system which we inhabit, which lives off of our labor. I will not make my choice (of whether to use violence) from a position of not knowing how to use a rifle, or not having one. I won't give up easily my dignity, or my life; I will struggle constantly to retain the birthrights of my heritage on Earth.

I know my role, and I know the role of the ones who choose a more pacifist way to be, way to live and engage. I do not expect to convert anyone, nor do I try. It tires me, and disappoints me, when people try to 'convert' me by telling me things about pacifism which I know as a historian are gross distortions of the facts as I know them.

> We should probably have a place in our tactics which integrates our roles, and accepts that they are different.

This tires me, but it does not defeat me. You have a right to make your points, but I have a right to use my own mind and come to my own conclusions as well.

We should probably have a place in our tactics which integrates our roles, and accepts that they are different. Ultimately violence is the imposition of consequences on someone, to bend their will to someone else's will. There are times when this is legitimate, such as when their actions will remove your choices (life, liberty, dignity). There are times when this is NOT legitimate. (they chose different tactics than you).

It is my opinion that the criticism of people who spit at or yell at men (who advocate killing people for being Jewish, or queer, or crippled) is a misdirected attempt to preserve the moral integrity of those engaging in the critique. This control, this need to unify the message and have everyone in the choir sing the same note will ultimately tear our movement asunder (again). Please reconsider whether this is effective.

Our species depends upon our willingness to cooperate with those who support and defend life, and not cooperate with those who would turn it into products and profits.

We do not have to assume the same value system entirely to work together, nor should we.

▸ **Flag waving** *from page 1*

they saw as threatened by an overzealous federal government.

But even as neo-confederates try valiantly to duck the meaning of their iconography, their efforts founder on the shoals of both common sense and history. After all, the idea that the motives of soldiers themselves—even if they do differ from the government for which they fight—somehow alter the underlying meaning of the battles in which they engage, is fanciful in this or any other war. Soldiers, after all, are not the ones who determine either when they fight, or for what purpose they do so. As such, the notion that the Confederate Army fought for such noble principles as defense of homeland, or regional pride, or other similarly abstract notions amounts to little more than wishful thinking at best, and a deceptive fraud at worst. Armies fight for their respective governments, and for whatever purposes the elected officials of those governments choose to send them.

If the Confederate leadership said (and it did, with disturbing clarity and a complete lack of misgiving) that its reasons for secession had to do with the desire to maintain and extend slavery, and that white supremacy was its "cornerstone" (in the words of CSA Vice-President Alexander Stephens), then that is the purpose for which the soldiers were fighting. They could have *thought* they were fighting for mommy, teddy bears and cornbread, but it wouldn't have made it so. Likewise, in the present, soldiers may think (and apparently some still do) that they are in Iraq to avenge September 11, but if so, this speaks only to their own self-delusion, and that instilled by their Commander-in-Chief. It says nothing whatsoever about why they are *actually* there, and why they may ultimately die. That soldiers find themselves the victims of a monstrous con, whether in the 1860s, or nearly a century and a half later, is regrettable to be sure, but it does not allow us to reinterpret the purposes to which their sacrifices were put, merely so that we may feel better about them—about us.

This may be unsettling to those Southerners who feel compelled to honor "Ol' great, great grandpappy Beauregard," or some such wretch of a patriarch, but their discomfort in having to confront the truth of the matter hardly makes it any less true. Fact is, great, great grandpappy died for a lie: the lie of white supremacy, whether or not he believed in it (and of course, truth be told, he did, to the letter, so let us not kid ourselves). There is no honor in that, and nothing at all worth commemorating, except insofar as we may use the sacrificing of our kinfolk on the altar of such evil, as an opportunity to resolve that we will do whatever it takes to smash that altar entirely.

No matter, the neo-Confederate will insist, now changing gears: the Confederacy itself was established not because of slavery, but rather, for the purpose of defending "state's rights." And this is true, so far as it goes. But to claim that the war and secession were about state's rights in the abstract is to ignore precisely *which* right the South believed was being violated by their Northern neighbors. It was not, to be sure, the right to decide the proper recipe for a mint julep, nor to make sour mash whiskey in a backyard shed. Rather (and not a single historian worthy of the title denies it) the right they saw as imperiled was the right to maintain and extend slavery.

Since the rebel purse controversy has erupted in Texas, perhaps we would do best to reflect on what the leaders of that fair state had to say about their own decision to depart the Union to which they had only recently been accepted. Doing so leaves very little room for speculation as to their motives.

When Texas announced its secession from the United States, its leaders issued a "Declaration of Causes." Therein it was noted that Texas had been admitted to the Union, "as a commonwealth holding, maintaining and protecting the institution known as negro slavery—the servitude of the African to the white race within her limits—a relation that had existed from the first settlement of her wilderness by the white race, and which her people intended should exist in all future time." The problem, or so the declaration claimed, was that the

▸ **Flag Waving** *continued on page 9*

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Re-creating God in the Image of the Powerful: Religion and Political Power

by Ron Jacobs

In a time when it seems that religious justifications for the excesses of both revolutionary and reactionary impulses are the standard, Haymarket Books' republication of Paul Siegel's *The Meek and the Militant* is a useful resource for the individual looking for a rational analysis of the relationship between religion and power. The book, which was originally published in 1986, provides a historical overview of the world's five great religions and takes a look at their relationship to power both inside and outside of government and capital. Although Siegel utilizes a Marxist analytical framework in his work, the text is equally useful for the Marxist and non-Marxist alike. Unfortunately, Siegel died in 2004, which precluded any update before republication.

The Meek and the Militant is essentially a history of the world's great religions, with the most detail saved for Christianity and Judaism. One of the things that makes the text valuable is that it turns the current assumption that religion shapes social forces on its head. Instead, the text rests on the the premise that social forces shape religions. In a metaphor familiar to fans of the rock band Jethro Tull's Aqualung album—which examined the relationship of humanity to religion—*The Meek and the Militant* asserts that man created God in his image. After making this assertion, Siegel takes it several steps further, arguing that once created, the powerful among men re-created that god in their image and used that newly created god to maintain the servility of the rest of humanity.

However, because of the nature of religious belief and the incredibly powerful hold it has on the psyche of humanity, religion also plays a role in movements opposed to the powerful's need to dominate. Examples cited in Siegel's work include the Puritan-inspired revolution against the King of England, the struggle against slavery in the United States and, more recently, the role of Catholic liberation theology in Central and South America, especially as regards the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua. Because of the book's publication date, the role of radical Islam is barely scratched. Indeed, Siegel acknowledges its power but only in passing when he mentions the reactionary social forces of the Ayatollah Khomeini and their role in derailing the Iranian revolution of 1979. To his credit, however, he does discuss the all-too-common misrepresentation of Islam as a fanatical and warlike religion. Indeed, its history is no more or less so than the histories of Judaism and (especially) Christianity.

> This element of US religious power has essentially bludgeoned into submission those in the US political arena who don't share their beliefs.

Despite the revolutionary power of religion—something that one should expect given the often radical nature of various prophets' pronouncements against their rich and powerful contemporaries—the historical fact is that when all is sorted out, religious forces usually end up on the side of power. This phenomenon is explored and instances of it are enumerated throughout Siegel's text, whether he is discussing evangelical Christianity and the robber barons in the US or Orthodox Judaism and Zionism in Israel.

Each and every time god was revived by those opposed to the power structure - whether it was the prophecies of Moses against the pharaoh and his gods, Jesus' Christian underground against the Pharisees and their temples, Mohammed's pronouncements against the excesses of Islam's monotheistic predecessors, or Buddhism's proclamations against the Emperor's Confucianism - the oppositional religion evolves into that which it opposed. According to Siegel, this is due to religion's easy manipulation by the ruling classes- a manipulation that is facilitated by the contradictory nature of religion.

This contradiction lies in its promise of a life not of this earth. Consequently, its radical nature can be as easily defined to be otherworldly and in favor of keeping things as they are here on earth just as it can be utilized to effect change in this temporal state. Oftentimes, this transition occurs when an interpretation turns a prohet's word of liberation inward—from the liberation of a people (the Jews, for example) to the liberation from sin of an individual being.

As mentioned before, this book was published in 1986. At the time, Ronald Reagan was president of the United States, the Soviet Union still existed and was fighting the US-sponsored predecessors to Al-Queda in Afghanistan, and the Sandinistas were fighting a CIA-sponsored counterrevolutionary force in Nicaragua. The rise of the so-called Christian Right was just approaching its zenith and had just begun to dramatically alter the face of US politics. Ronald Reagan, after all, was not George W. Bush. Not that the forces behind his throne were any different than those behind the current administration, but the parliamentary forces opposed to them were arguably more organized and considerably stronger than they are today. Part of the reason for that is the power that right wing Christians have in this country. This element of US religious power has essentially bludgeoned into submission those in the US political arena who don't share their beliefs. Indeed, it is as if they really did have the power to send us all to hell because we might oppose their design for world domination and eventual apocalypse. In addition, the role of radical Islam in all of its forms was as yet unrealized at the time of the book's original publication. Consequently, the text suffers from its suspension in a time just before today's political reality; yet this does not detract from its true value as a historical overview of religious history. Indeed, perhaps the most important lesson one can draw from this text is that religious belief can be a humanistic and revolutionary force just as easily as it can be manipulated against those forces. Furthermore, Siegel's historical commentary proves once again that the application of dialectical thought is quite useful in anticipating the future.

As we head into another year of uncertain carnage defined by Washington's belief in its own covenant with a god created in its own image and an enemy with elements of its leadership seeming at times only too willing to oblige in a comparable oppositional role, the historical insights of *The Meek and the Militant* provide a useful reminder as to the roles religious belief can play in a world of circumstances that cry out for revolutionary change.

Ron Jacobs, a former resident of Olympia, is the author of The Way the Wind Blew: a history of the Weather Underground*, which is just republished by Verso. Jacobs' essay on Big Bill Broonzy is featured in* CounterPunch*'s new collection on music, art and sex,* Serpents in the Garden*. He can be reached at: rjacobs3625@charter.net*

WOW! IS THAT THE NEW POPE?
NO, JUST ANOTHER REPUBLICAN-APPROVED JUDGE.
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Bottled Water: Nectar of the Frauds?

by Abid Aslam

Water, water everywhere and we are duped into buying it bottled.

Consumers spend a collective $100 billion every year on bottled water in the belief—often mistaken, as it happens—that this is better for us than what flows from our taps, according to environmental think tank the Earth Policy Institute (EPI).

For a fraction of that sum, everyone on the planet could have safe drinking water and proper sanitation, the Washington, D.C.-based organization said this week.

Members of the United Nations have agreed to halve the proportion of people who lack reliable and lasting access to safe drinking water by the year 2015. To meet this goal, they would have to double the $15 billion spent every year on water supply and sanitation.

"While this amount may seem large, it pales in comparison to the estimated $100 billion spent each year on bottled water," said EPI researcher Emily Arnold.

"There is no question that clean, affordable drinking water is essential to the health of our global community," Arnold said. "But bottled water is not the answer in the developed world, nor does it solve problems for the 1.1 billion people who lack a secure water supply. Improving and expanding existing water treatment and sanitation systems is more likely to provide safe and sustainable sources of water over the long term."

Worldwide, bottled water consumption surged to 154 billion liters (41 billion gallons) in 2004, up 57 percent from 98 billion liters in 1999, EPI said in a written analysis citing industry data.

By one view, the consequences for the planet and for consumers' purses are horrifying.

"Even in areas where tap water is safe to drink, demand for bottled water is increasing—producing unnecessary garbage and consuming vast quantities of energy," said Arnold. "Although in the industrial world bottled water is often no healthier than tap water, it can cost up to 10,000 times more."

At up to $2.50 per liter ($10 per gallon), bottled water costs more than gasoline in the United States.

▸ **Water** *continued on page 11*

▸ **Flag waving** *from page 7*

Federal Government had sought to exclude slavery from the newly expanding national territories to the West, in effect choking off the economic vitality of the region and "destroying the institutions of Texas and their sister slaveholding states."

The declaration continued:

"In all the non-slave-holding states... the people have formed themselves into a great sectional party...based upon an unnatural feeling of hostility to these Southern states and their beneficent and patriarchal system of African slavery, proclaiming the debasing doctrine of equality of all men, irrespective of race or color—a doctrine at war with nature, in opposition to the experience of mankind, and in violation of the plainest revelations of Divine Law. They demand the abolition of Negro slavery throughout the confederacy, the recognition of political equality between the white and Negro races, and avow their determination to press their crusade against us..."

The Texas secession delegates went even further than those in most other Southern states, by declaring:

"We hold as undeniable truths that the government of the various states and of the (federal) confederacy itself, were established exclusively by the white race, for themselves and their posterity; that the African race had no agency in their establishment; that they were rightfully held and regarded as an inferior and dependent race, and in that condition only could their existence in this country be rendered beneficial or tolerable."

As if this were not all quite putrid enough, they pressed on:

"...In this free government, all white men are and of right ought to be entitled to equal civil rights...the servitude of the African race, as existing in these states, is mutually beneficial to both bond and free, and is abundantly authorized and justified by the experience of mankind, and the revealed will of the Almighty Creator; as recognized by all Christian nations..."

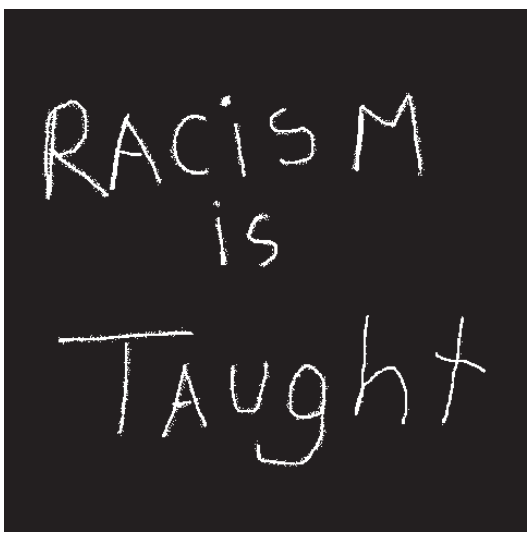
Of course, this was not merely the view of those in Texas who sought secession, but rather, was representative of the views of all the Southern states that broke from the United States. Each and every state made clear the motivations behind leaving the Union, and in each and every instance the reasons given—and indeed the *only* reasons given—concerned the South's perception that the North was trying to undercut and eventually eliminate slavery. They specifically mentioned incitements to insurrection on the part of abolitionists, the refusal to enforce the Fugitive Slave Act and thereby return runaway slaves to their masters, and most prominently the concept that came to be known as "free soil," which would prevent newly acquired territories and new states from practicing slavery. This, it was claimed, would encircle the slaveholding South and devastate the region's economy by preventing slavery's expansion.

Neither the flag in question, nor the government for which its soldiers fought are representative of the South. ... It says something, and not something flattering, that so many people would prefer to celebrate the machinations of those who desired black servitude, than the struggles of those blacks and their white allies, who struggled for freedom.

In the case of Texas, their brief ordinance of secession specified that their decision to secede had been made necessary by the hostility of the federal government to the property interests of she and her fellow slaveholding states: in other words, hostility to those states' maintenance of slaves as property—the only property in contention at the time.

To criticize the flag and the Confederacy in this way is simply a matter of historical accuracy, not, as the Sons of Confederate Veterans would have it, a "heritage violation." In fact, to suggest that critiquing the confederacy amounts to a slur against Southern heritage is *itself* a slur against the Southland, in that it has the effect of linking the South and the Confederacy as if they were synonymous, when in fact they are not. After all, it is absurd to suggest that hundreds of years of the American South and its history can be represented by a symbol, representing an army, representing a government that lasted a mere *four years* of that history.

Neither the flag in question, nor the government for which its soldiers fought are representative of the South. To suggest otherwise is to write black people out of Southern history, since, to be sure, it is not *their* flag, even though blacks have been in the American South for at least as long, if not longer, than the vast majority of European sub-groups. It is also to write out of that history the many white Southerners who opposed secession, so mightily in many cases that the Georgia secession vote had to be rigged, and troops had to be sent to East Tennessee so as to force white folks there to go along with breaking from the Union. West Virginia, indeed, broke away from Virginia over the secession issue, led by men and women who saw the cause of a Southern confederacy as illegitimate.



To choose the Confederate battle flag as one's proxy for Southern heritage is to make a choice that is inherently ideological and fraught with baggage. After all, one could choose to celebrate any number of other things about the South. As a proud Southerner, I do, by celebrating the civil rights movement, which grew from the soil of the South and was led by brave black Southerners; or by celebrating the educational tradition of Historically Black Colleges and Universities, which symbolize the striving for knowledge on the part of persons denied access to higher education by the white majority; or by honoring white abolitionists, who actually numbered more, per capita, in the South than in the North. Or for that matter by celebrating the gastronomic traditions of the region, though indeed such indulgences are probably best if limited, for the sake of oneself and one's arteries.

In other words, Southern heritage means a good deal more than the Confederacy, and indeed, a good deal that is better that that: a tradition of struggle and triumph on the road to liberty; a tradition of music and literature, and artwork, and any number of things one could venerate without having to honor a government that openly proclaimed its belief in racial supremacy and sought to hold millions of other human beings in bondage. It says something, and not something flattering, that so many people would prefer to celebrate the machinations of those who desired black servitude, than the struggles of those blacks and their white allies, who struggled for freedom.

None of this is to deny that the young women in Burleson have the right to display a racist and offensive symbol, such as the Confederate battle flag. They probably do, under any fair reading of the First Amendment. But this truth is hardly the point. After all, just because one *has* a right to do something, doesn't mean that it *is* right to actually then do it, nor that we must call the thing good, once it is actually done. I have the *right*, after all, to stand in the middle of Central Park and shout racial slurs, but if I do so, it makes me an asshole, plain and simple. And I would certainly hope that someone would tell me so, and not allow my rights—which, in this case would include the freedom to be an asshole—to somehow cow them into not exercising *theirs*, including, in this case, the right to tell me off.

So for the two young women in Burleson, the same is true: they most assuredly are free, one supposes, to don a rebel flag, be it on their purse, on a shirt, or on a bumper sticker located on their cars—right between the one that says "W: The President," and the other one, which reads: "Back off or I'll flick a booger on your windshield." But that's not the point. The point, or rather the question, is this: If you know that a symbol you intend to display is deeply hurtful to a group of people—is viewed, for understandable reasons, even if you disagree with them, as perhaps even terroristic—then what kind of insensitive slug must *you* be to decide to display that symbol anyway?

Liberty is not, in the final analysis, an argument for engaging in obnoxious or offensive behavior, just because one *can*. And the fact that one is free to be both obnoxious and offensive hardly suggests that when one chooses to do so, they should then be seen as martyrs to a noble cause, or that others should join them in the act for which they are being criticized, or that still others should refrain from shunning them as the ethical reprobates they are, simply because, after all, they have a right to be just that.

And as my friend and fellow educator, Paul Gallegos, of Evergreen State College puts it: "Just because speech is free, doesn't mean that it has to be worthless."

*Sadly, one can now see confederate flags cropping up in all parts of the nation, either because of the migration of Southerners out of the South to other regions, or because of the ideological agreement of non-Southerners with the political and ideological views of the Confederacy.

Printed with permission. Tim Wise is the author of two new books: White Like Me: Reflections on Race from a Privileged Son *(Soft Skull Press, 2005), and* Affirmative Action: Racial Preference in Black and White *(Routledge: 2005). He can be reached at: timjwise@msn.com*

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▸ **Points** *from page 1*

Build coalitions.

Hate, violence and bigotry against one targeted group helps to legitimize activities against other groups. If you involve a wide spectrum of people representing diverse constituencies you will have a better chance of achieving a unified, effective response.

Assist victims.

Providing support and aid to hate violence victims is central to any response strategy. Don't get so busy organizing press conferences and issuing proclamations that you forget to make a house call and express your personal support.

Work with constituencies targeted for recruitment.

People who join hate groups usually do so out of frustration, fear and anger; they might even be your neighbors next door. By offering meaningful social, economic, spiritual and political alternatives you can discourage participation in hate groups by the very people most vulnerable to recruitment.

Target your own community as well as the hate group.

Hate groups don't create social conflict out of thin air, they have to feed off existing community tensions in order to exist. The enemy of community harmony is not always the hate group itself, but the existing bigotry and division the group can exploit. For these and other reasons it is also essential to conduct anti-bigotry education programs on an ongoing basis, after the hate group has left your community.

Encourage peer-based responses among youth.

Young people respond best to leadership that comes from within their peer group. While adults can provide valuable resources and insight, it is essential that youth groups develop and cultivate their own leaders and implement programs of their own design to combat bigotry.

Remember that hate groups are not a fringe phenomenon and their followers don't always wear sheets.

Although the number of active white supremacists and neo-Nazis probably totals no more than 25,000 in the United States, as many as half-a-million Americans read their literature. This movement is complex and made up of numerous sometimes competing and sometimes cooperating organizations. Hate groups impact the mainstream of society in a variety of ways including: running candidates for public office; publishing sophisticated propaganda; buying radio time and media outlets; distributing cable television program; manipulating the media; and building alliances with more respectable conservative groups, including some fundamentalist and evangelical Christian organizations.

Broaden your agenda.

The problem is more than criminal. Hate activity is a political and social problem requiring a range of responses. Citizen advocacy groups, religious agencies and others should develop a public policy agenda that addresses a wide range of issues including appropriate legislation, mandatory school curricula, expanded victim services, etc.

Announcements (cont. from pg 2)

Solutions to Global Warming: What's Happening Now?

Thursday, March 9, 2006, 6:30-8pm, General Administration Building Auditorium, 11th & Columbia, Capital Campus, Olympia

Speakers include: Rich Feldman, Washington Coordinator, **Apollo Alliance**
Tony Usibelli, Asst. Director, **Energy Policy Division, CTED**
Sister Mimi Maloney, **Earth Stewardship Committee, Interfaith Works**

Topics: Achieving Energy Independence • Ramping up Energy Conservation • Clean Energy Transition needed NOW • Spiritual Calling to Defend the Earth and All Her Inhabitants.

Primary Sponsor: **League of Women Voters of Thurston County**
Co-Sponsors: Olympic Forest Coalition, Thurston County Progressive Network, Climate Solutions, Dept. of Community Trade & Economic Development, Washington Climate Action Network, The Olympian?
Contact Donna Ewing at 456-4635 or email: suedonoly@aol.com

Respect Human Rights for All

Come to Tacoma on **Saturday March 11th** and help connect the dots between an increasingly militaristic U.S. foreign policy and increasingly punitive immigration and deportation policies. The Coalition for Universal Security has sponsored a day of activities to juxtapose the new INS/ICE Northwest Detention Center in downtown Tacoma with the Pacific Northwest National Security Forum. The PNWNSF is bringing top military leaders from around the USA to discuss meeting security needs beyond Afghanistan and Iraq.

Say no! to war with Iran, and help present a real and viable security alternative. Organizers intend to vocalize that real security at home and abroad will be achieved only by respecting certain inalienable human rights—for all people. True justice will be achieved by demonstrating compassion, and working toward understanding through dialogue—it won't be achieved through military force, or any violent means.

The day's events will begin with a **rally** at **11:00 A.M**. at the **Northwest Detention Center**, 1623 East J St. Tacoma. The **march** will begin at **noon** and progress 1.3 miles to the downtown Sheraton, where the second **rally** will get underway at **1:00 P.M**.

Info at **http://olyblog.net/node/1355** or the "calendar" link at "olyblog.net"
Or contact: Rob Whitlock • Robwhitlock1978@yahoo.com • (360) 259-4291
or Alice Zillah • alicezillah@yahoo.com • (360) 357-7705

Creative Intervention

The **Yes Yes Alliance** and **The Urban Layers Project** recognize the importance of art for social change. On **March 20th through the 25th** an event, **Creative Intervention**, is planned which will feature the work of local homeless artists at the Yes Yes. Throughout the week events are scheduled utilizing creative forums such as panel discussions, open mic, spoken word, workshops, and visual art installations.

Participating organizations include Bread and Roses, Rosie's Place, Partners in Prevention Education and EGYHOP/ Done and Done. 65% of the proceeds raised through Creative Intervention will go back into these organizations while the remaining portion will be going into the Art for Social Change project at Yes Yes. 65% of the art proceeds will go to the artists.

Volunteer your time and/or submit art for the alley auction. Sponsorship opportunities are available for businesses who would like to donate supplies and materials, provide food and drinks, make monetary donations, or host an event in conjunction with Creative Intervention. Advertising space is available in the official Creative Intervention program guide.

Yes Yes Alliance • 320 4th Ave • Jill Campoli • jillcampoli@yahoo.com
Urban Layers Project • Jennifer Stanley • 352-2401 • urbanlayers@riseup.net

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Come celebrate with

The Gleaners Coalition

…the promise of spring, and the commitment to end hunger in our community.

Join your friends and neighbors on **Saturday, March 25th** from **noon** till **3pm**, Location TBA (Save the Date!) for soups, savory treats, & sweets prepared by the coming gleaners' café.

Meet some local farmers who sell csa's and donate their surplus to the gleaners coalition… Come plant seeds in starter pots and commit to grow a little extra in your garden for the hungry… Make plans to spend a summer day on a beautiful farm, picking fresh food…volunteers keep all they need and share what they can… Childcare will be happily provided, and there will be activities for all…

Info: Barry Cannon • 360-**705-2375** • barry@gleanerscoalition.org

▸ **Announcements** *continued pg 11*

Announcements (cont. from pg 10)

Olympia Unitarian Universalist Congregation Social Justice Committee Monthly Film Series

All films are free and are shown at the Olympia Unitarian Universalist Congregation,2200 East End St NW, Olympia. Info: www.olyuu.org or contact socialjustice@olyuu.org.

Saturday, **April 1**, 2006, at **4pm**:
Monumental: David Brower's Fight for Wild America

At last, this movie is available for us to show!!! Using a first-person documentary style, charismatic environmentalist David Brower—who was also an accomplished filmmaker—takes you along for the ride in his lifelong fight to protect the American wilderness. From the part he played in passing the 1964 Wilderness Act through Congress to his instrumental role in saving the Grand Canyon, Brower demonstrates his commitment to saving the planet—one cause at a time.

A World Beyond Capitalism Conference Volunteer Meet-Up and Planning Meeting

Time and Date: Tuesday, **April 18**, 4-6 PM
Location: **De Colores Books**: 507 Washington Street, Olympia

Come and enjoy free vegan refreshments, friends and the feeling of working for worldwide peace and multiracial equality as a part of this wonderful volunteer meeting! Volunteer flyers for this meeting (please post them around your area) and more are available on our website. This meeting is suitable for the entire family. We welcome people of all races, ethnic groups and marginalized groups. Go to **www.aworldbeyondcapitalism.org** or **www.CommonUnityPeaceConference.org** and click on 'Worldwide Meetings.' Or call (360) **705-4561** and leave a message for the 'AWBC Volunteer'.

Peace Works 2006

April 20: Arun Gandhi at the Washington Center for the Performing Arts
April 21-23: A Conference Cultivating a Just and Enduring Peace for the People of Palestine and Israel

Sponsored by the Rachel Corrie Foundation for Peace and Justice, the focus of the conference is the cultivation of a just and enduring peace for the people of Palestine and Israel and to strategize about how to further "change the wind"—in this country, and hopefully beyond.

Speakers:
• **Arun Gandhi**: the fifth grandson of Mahatma Gandhi, a social-political activist, and founder of the M.K. Gandhi Institute for Non-Violence in Memphis, Tennessee.
• **Diana Buttu**: Canadian-Palestinian lawyer, peace activist, and advisor to the Palestinian Negotiation Team.
• **Amira Hass**: Israeli author and journalist for the Israeli daily newspaper Ha'aretz who has lived in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.
• **Huwaida Arraf**: Palestinian-American co-founder of the International Solidarity Movement.
• **Liat Weingart**: Co-Director of Jewish Voice for Peace in San Francisco.
• **Dr. Sarah Roy**: Research Associate at the Center for Middle Eastern Studies at Harvard, author of The Gaza Strip: The Political Economy of De-development.

Information: Contact Donna Schumann at **943-0965**, **584-3103**, or donnaschumann@comcast.net • **http://www.rachelcorriefoundation.org**

Clean Energy Initiative Ready for Takeoff!

Join Thurston County residents in supporting a statewide BALLOT INITIATIVE FOR CLEAN, RENEWABLE AND AFFORDABLE ENERGY.

Statewide we need to collectively gather 225,000 valid signatures by June 30 to qualify this important initiative for the November 2006 ballot!

A coalition of environmental, business, and labor organizations is teaming up to put this initiative on this November's ballot. It will help our state's economy, environment, and rural communities by ensuring electric utilities purchase 15% of their power from clean and renewable resources, like wind and solar, by 2020 and improve the energy efficiency of our homes and businesses. Fossil fuels pollute our air and water, contribute to global warming, and increase cases of asthma and lung disease. We can protect ourselves with abundant home-grown renewable energy that is insulated from the volatile price swings of fossil fuels, providing long-term rate stability to consumers.

Email **samgarst@aol.com** to volunteer locally. Or call Chris at **705-3528**.

Washingtonians for Energy Security • 150 Nickerson St., Ste. 109 • Seattle, WA 98109 • Phone: (206) 283-3335 • Fax: (206) 283-3336
E-mail: info@energysecuritynow.org • **www.energysecuritynow.org**

▸ **Announcements** *continued next column*

▸ **Water** *from page 8*

A close look at the multibillion-dollar bottled water industry renewed Arnold's affection for the faucet.

Tap water comes to us through an energy-efficient infrastructure whereas bottled water must be transported long distances—and nearly one-fourth of it across national borders—by boat, train, airplane, and truck. This "involves burning massive quantities of fossil fuels," Arnold said.

By way of example, in 2004 alone, a Helsinki company shipped 1.4 million bottles of Finnish tap water 4,300 kilometers (2,700 miles) to Saudi Arabia. And although 94 percent of the bottled water sold in the United States is produced domestically, some Americans import water shipped some 9,000 kilometers from Fiji and other faraway places to satisfy demand for what Arnold termed "chic and exotic bottled water."

More fossil fuels are used in packaging the water. Most water bottles are made with polyethylene terephthalate, a plastic derived from crude oil. "Making bottles to meet Americans' demand for bottled water requires more than 1.5 million barrels of oil annually, enough to fuel some 100,000 U.S. cars for a year," Arnold said.

Worldwide, some 2.7 million tons of plastic are used to bottle water each year.

Once it has been emptied, the bottle must be dumped. According to the Container Recycling Institute, 86 percent of plastic water bottles used in the United States become garbage or litter. Incinerating used bottles produces toxic byproducts such as chlorine gas and ash containing heavy metals tied to a host of human and animal health problems. Buried water bottles can take up to 1,000 years to biodegrade.

Of the bottles deposited for recycling in 2004, the United States exported roughly 40 percent to destinations as far away as China—meaning that even more fossil fuels were burned in the process.

Meanwhile, communities near where the water came in the first place risk running dry.

More than 50 Indian villages have complained of water shortages after bottlers began extracting water for sale under Coca-Cola Co.'s Dasani label, EPI said.

"Similar problems have been reported in Texas and in the Great Lakes region of North America, where farmers, fishers, and others who depend on water for their livelihoods are suffering from concentrated water extraction as water tables drop quickly," Arnold said.

All this, because many consumers associate bottled water with healthy living. More fool us.

"Bottled water is not guaranteed to be any healthier than tap water. In fact, roughly 40 percent of bottled water begins as tap water; often the only difference is added minerals that have no marked health benefit," EPI said.

France's Senate, it added, "even advises people who drink bottled mineral water to change brands frequently because the added minerals are helpful in small amounts but may be dangerous in higher doses."

To be sure, many municipal water systems have run afoul of government water quality standards—driving up demand for bottled water as a result. But according to the study, "in a number of places, including Europe and the United States, there are more regulations governing the quality of tap water than bottled water."

The U.S. Environmental Protection Agency sets more stringent quality standards for tap water than does the Food and Drug Administration for the bottled stuff, it added.

Americans drank 26 billion liters of bottled water in 2004, or roughly one eight-ounce glass per person every day. Mexico had the second highest consumption, at 18 billion liters. China and Brazil followed, at close to 12 billion liters each. Italy and Germany ranked fifth and sixth in consumption, downing just over 10 billion liters of bottled water each.

Italians drank the most bottled water per person, at nearly 184 liters in 2004—more than two glasses per day. Mexico and the United Arab Emirates consumed 169 and 164 liters per person, per year. Belgium and France followed, knocking back almost 145 liters per capita annually. Spain ranked sixth, with 137 liters swallowed each year, per person.

Some of the fastest growth in bottled water consumption is taking place in poor countries.

With consumption per person increasing by 44-50 percent between 1999 and 2004, Lebanon and Mexico had among the fastest growth rates of the top 15 per-capita guzzlers, EPI said.

Indian and Chinese people drank far less individually, but collectively some citizens of the world's two most populous countries appear to have been on mighty thirsty. India swigged three times as much bottled water in 2004 as it did in 1999 and China, more than twice as much.

If individual Chinese consumers drank one-fourth the bottled water downed by the average American, EPI said, China would springboard over the United States and become the world's largest consumer.

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Announcements (cont. from previous column)

Grassroots Hotline, Email List and Online Library for Olympia Workers

The Olympia Workers Association (OWA) announces a new hotline for workers who want help improving their working conditions. Call (360) **539-9523** to get support from other workers, get information about workers rights and strategize winning better work conditions.

The OWA has an email list to share news about local workers. To subscribe to this list go to https://lists.riseup.net/www/subrequest/olympiaworkers and start receiving updates about the local grassroots labor movement.

The OWA also has an Online Worker Library with reading material about worker struggles past and present: http://olymedia.mahost.org/olyworkers/workerlibrary.htm

For info about OWA visit **http://olympiaworkers.org**

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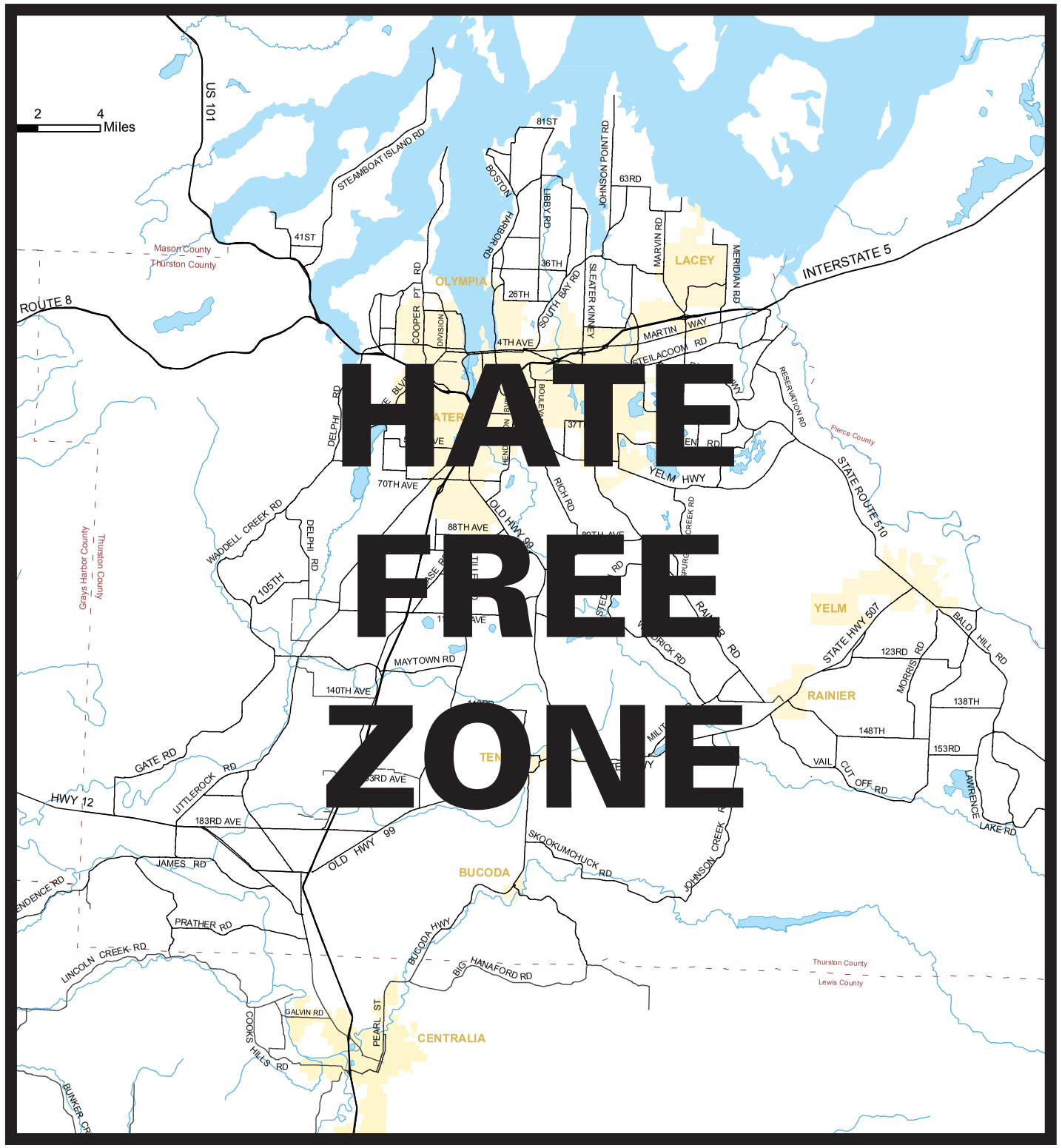
WORKS IN PROGRESS



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